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TENTH ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

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THE cause of peace, foretold by ancient prophets, dates its origin from the advent of our Saviour. Promised in the Jewish Scriptures as the Prince of peace, his birth was announced by a chosen choir of angels in the song of "Glory to God in the highest; and, on earth, peace, good-will to men." He taught and exemplified all the principles of this cause. His Sermon on the Mount, the standard and storehouse of our views, is the fullest treatise ever written on the subject. He was the great Teacher of peace; and we regard him as the Founder and Patron of our cause. His spirit was peace; his words were peace; his walk was peace; his farewell to his disciples was peace; his dying prayer for his murderers breathed the purest spirit of peace; and, in bidding his followers preach his gospel of peace to every creature, he made it incumbent on them not only to embrace, but to spread through the world, its principles of peace as an integral part of their religion. Thus did the early Christians understand him; and accordingly we find his apostles preaching these principles as explicitly as repentance or faith, and his disciples, during the purest era of Christianity, exemplifying them with similar care and constancy.

Had the followers of Christ continued to regard peace as an element of the gospel, and to cultivate it, like faith and love, as one of the Christian graces, there would have been little occasion for special efforts in behalf of this cause; but the war-degeneracy of the church, perceptibly commencing before the lapse of two centuries, was consummated by the formal and fatal union of church and state under Constantine

early in the fourth century. A pagan adopting Christianity from political motives, a warrior before and after his conversion, he was not likely to catch the peaceful spirit of the gospel; and little did his soldiers, his courtiers or himself know of their new religion beyond its name and its outward badges. It was only reformed paganism baptized; a mockery, a standing contradiction of the name it bore. The cross, once the symbol of peace and love, henceforth waved on the imperial banners over fields of carnage and devastation. Christianity, like modern popery with its triple crown, or still more like Mohammedism itself with its sabre and scimeter, went forth to the work of human butchery, and presumed to claim the sanction of heaven for practices which her followers had for ages held in deepest abhorrence as utterly inconsistent with their profession of faith in the Prince of peace. So complete did this degeneracy become, that Christians at length ceased even to question the lawfulness of war, and came to regard it, like government itself, as an ordinance of heaven to which they were sacredly bound to yield obedience and support. Nations, trained to war as their chief business, and converted to Christianity by the sword, brought their military habits into the fold of Christ, and thus made it the church militant with a vengeance. Christendom became a vast camp or battle-field, and Christians themselves, professed followers of the Prince of peace, the most notorious fighters on earth.

Such was the character of the church at the dawn of the Reformation; and a period when all Europe was in arms, and religion itself the bone of contention, was not the time to compare the lawfulness of war with the precepts of the gospel. This point most of the reformers took for granted without inquiry, and relied themselves on the sword for the propagation or defence of their principles. The Reformation was in part a political movement; and it could not have been expected, that its secular patrons, trained in camps, and retaining all the habits of warriors, would consent, like Huss and Jerome, to be burned as heretics without resistance. The reformers never questioned the right of persecution or of war; and the disciples of the Prince of peace continued without scruple to take part in some of the bloodiest wars that ever stained the pages of history.

We cannot here glance at the efforts successfully made, even during the dark ages, for the abolition of *private* wars; but suffice it to say, that the custom of *international* war received no check, scarce a rebuke, except from a solitary individual among the reformers. This exception deserves a

record more lasting than marble or brass. Erasmus, the phoenix of ancient literature in modern times, pleaded the cause of peace with unrivalled beauty, pathos and power. Yet few in that warring age caught his spirit, or heeded his eloquent appeals; and it was reserved for the present century to construct a system of specific, combined efforts for the entire abolition of war, and the universal, permanent reign of peace on earth.

No individual deserves the sole honor of originating this movement; it was the result of providential causes operating powerfully on the mass of minds throughout Christendom. It came from the God of peace himself; and the fact of its having been, without concert, simultaneous on two continents, proves its divine original. Roused by the long train of calamities attendant on the French Revolution, and the subsequent wars of Europe, the friends of humanity in England and our own country began to inquire in earnest if something could not be done to stay the ravages of this fell destroyer. The system of modern religious benevolence, already in successful operation, had prepared the way; and several pamphlets of uncommon power had been issued on the subject in Great Britain; but the decisive appeal was made by NOAH WORCESTER in his *Solemn Review of the Custom of War*, published near the close of 1814, and followed in August, 1815, by the formation of the New York Peace Society in the city of New York, the first in modern times, by the Massachusetts Peace Society in December of the same year, and, in June of the following year, by the London Peace Society, all without any knowledge of each other's existence. The Society of Christian Morals, established at Paris in 1821, embraces peace among its objects; and the Peace Society of Geneva, Switzerland, was organized by Count de Sellon in 1830, and has been thus far in vigorous operation under the auspices of its illustrious founder. We know not to what extent auxiliary or kindred associations have been formed on the continent of Europe; but in England and America they have been extensively multiplied. The American Peace Society, as a bond of union among the friends of peace throughout our country, was organized, on the recommendation of distinguished men belonging to different religious denominations, in May, 1828, and has since been constantly gaining accessions of confidence, numbers and resources.

This reform is too recent, and the efforts in its behalf too feeble and limited, to justify the expectation of decisive results so soon. Was it possible for a handful of philanthropists, at an annual expense of only three or four thousand dollars,

to abolish in twenty years the oldest, most inveterate custom on earth? Could they at once dissuade millions of warriors from their trade of blood, demolish a system upheld by the power and prejudices of a world, and eradicate a spirit rooted in the nature of man, and universally wrought into the very texture of society and government?

Such a hope would have been presumptuous and vain; but much more has already been accomplished than could reasonably have been expected. After more than twenty years of almost unparalleled carnage and devastation, the general peace of Christendom has been preserved for nearly a quarter of a century by the smiles of Heaven on efforts and influences which constitute the peace reform. The cause itself has assumed a definite, permanent form; it has acquired "a local habitation, and a name;" it has taken its stand among the great enterprises of the day, as a part of the instrumentalities requisite for the world's conversion; and, at length embalmed in the affections of the church, and sustained by her prayers and her patronage, it may well expect hereafter a more rapid progress towards the consummation of its high and glorious purpose. Already has it attracted the attention, and won the favor of cabinets and kings. Its silent influence has reached the camp, the senate and the palace. The war-spirit has been checked; other expedients than the sword for the adjustment of international disputes, are fast coming to form the settled policy of the civilized world; and, were efforts made at all in proportion to the magnitude of our object, Christendom might, in less than fifty years, disband her four millions of standing warriors as superfluous, and the eight hundred millions of dollars now wasted even in peace upon the war-system, might be appropriated in such ways as would fill every city, village and hamlet with the songs of a redeemed and regenerated population.

THE SINGLE OBJECT OF OUR CAUSE.—We wish our aims, principles and measures to be well understood. Our sole object is *the peace of NATIONS*; and we hold ourselves *responsible* for nothing beyond this single purpose. We seek only to prevent war; but war is not a quarrel between individuals, nor strife in families or churches; not a parent chastising his children, or a teacher his pupils; not a magistrate punishing a criminal legally sentenced to the prison or the gallows; not a government suppressing mobs or insurrections with the sword of civil authority; not an individual resisting unto death a highway robber, or a midnight assassin. On such points the cause of peace, like that of temperance, leaves its friends to think as they please, without calling them to account, or

holding itself accountable, for their opinions. It does not catechise them respecting their religious or political creed. It neither claims nor admits the right of such a censorship. It keeps to its own business, and asks no man whether he is a radical or a conservative; whether he follows Luther or the pope, Calvin or Arminius; whether he desires or deprecates such a reform in civil and domestic government as would exclude all physical coercion. With such topics we have nothing to do as promoters of peace between nations. Our whole object is the abolition of war; and war is *a conflict of NATIONS by force*. We are concerned only with contests in which the parties are nations, and the instrument of contention, force or violence unto death; but in the case of a parent and his children, of a teacher and his pupils, of the traveller and a highway robber, of government and a criminal, a mob, or a body of insurgents, is there a conflict by such an instrument between nations? No; it is an affair between individuals, or between government and its own subjects; relations with which the cause of peace, strictly understood, has nothing to do. We restrict ourselves to the intercourse of states. There are three classes of relations—that of one individual to another; that of individuals to society, of citizens to government; that of one society, government or nation to another. The principles of peace are applicable more or less to all these relations; but we are concerned as peacemakers only with the intercourse of governments or nations, and thus exclude as irrelevant most of the difficulties with which objectors have, in their ignorance or perverseness, sought to encumber the cause of peace.

PRINCIPLES IN COMMON.—There is less diversity of opinion among the active friends of peace than is generally supposed. The great mass of minds through Christendom, are still asleep over this subject; but those who have examined it enough to form an intelligent opinion, and to make efforts for the promotion of this cause, agree in nearly all their views, and differ only on the question, whether wars strictly defensive are consistent with the gospel.

We exclude of course all foreign topics, but unite in believing, that war is a mighty mass of evils, extremely injurious in all its legitimate results to the temporal and the spiritual interests of mankind;—that no war can commence without the deepest guilt on one side, if not on both, or continue without involving each party in almost equal criminality by the necessity of employing the very same means for its prosecution;—that no war of pride or jealousy, of avarice or ambition, of revenge, redress or prevention, can be consistent

with a religion of righteousness, peace and love;—that war, if justifiable under any circumstances, can be so for the preservation of life alone, nor even then unless all other expedients have been tried in vain, and it is certain that we must either kill, or be killed;—that few, if any wars recorded in history, will answer to this definition of a war strictly defensive;—that the custom of war is incompatible with the genius, precepts and aims of Christianity;—that the whole war-system, founded in guilt and blood, is utterly wrong in its origin, its principles, and its means;—that the practice ought to be universally abandoned, and its place supplied by pacific expedients for the settlement of all international difficulties;—that this can be done by the promised blessing of God on the right use of such means as he has himself appointed for the purpose;—that these means consist in a proper application of the gospel to the subject, and ought without delay to be used by all persons under the light of revelation.

Is not here a platform of common views broad enough for the friends of peace to stand upon, and work together for the attainment of an object dear alike to them all? Though differing on a single point, we cannot suppose they will refuse to coöperate in a cause so strictly common; and we trust they will all learn ere-long the wisdom, candor and forbearance indispensable to success in such an enterprise. Shall we stand still, or hold back, now because our brethren go too far, and anon because they do not go far enough? With such a spirit, little can ever be accomplished; and we beseech the friends of peace to cease from this mutual fault-finding, and begin at length to do something for the cause in real earnest.

Far be it from us to discourage the most thorough discussion of points still in dispute or doubt among ourselves. We are anxious for it; but we insist, that such discussions ought neither to break our ranks, nor diminish the vigor of our united efforts in the cause. Action is what we want most; and, if our friends will only put forth their utmost energies, we shall readily excuse, or kindly bear with their errors in judgment.

MEASURES.—We prefer such a mode of operation as will conciliate all that are willing to labor in this cause. We apply no tests; we exact no pledges; we insist only on the condition, that the friends of peace shall assist us in using such means as all deem necessary for the accomplishment of our object. If they will coöperate in the use of these means, we hail them as coworkers, and admit them as such to our confidence and esteem. This cause, like every other, re-

quires something to be done; we need countenance, personal services, pecuniary contributions; and we can regard as friends only those who will aid us in some, if not all of these ways.

Public opinion is our main instrument; and we would cast it in the mould of peace. It is the mistress of the world, and does more to control Christendom than all her fleets and armies. There is scarce a despot in Europe reckless enough to brave its frowns; Napoleon himself writhed under the lash of a British reviewer; civilized governments are fast coming to act as agents of the people; and, were all Christendom arrayed against war as New England now is against the kindred practice of duelling, the war-system would soon be entirely and for ever abandoned.

Our main reliance, then, is on the people; and fain would we saturate their minds with the spirit and principles of peace. We would convince their understandings; we would rouse their consciences; we would move their hearts; we would enlist all their energies in this godlike cause. We would pour upon every Christian community a flood of light on this subject through the ordinary channels of communication with the public mind. We would engage every press and every pulpit in Christendom. Every church, every Sabbath and common school, every academy and college, every seminary of learning from the highest to the lowest, every Christian family, we would make a nursery of peace to train up an entire generation of peacemakers. Every public speaker, every writer, every printer, every teacher, every parent and guardian, every Christian, philanthropist and patriot, every friend of God or man, high and low, old and young, male and female, we would enlist in this cause of a bleeding race.

We aim at *conservative reform*; and we appeal to our history for proof that we have thus far acted on this principle. Our Society was organized by the advice of men high in the confidence of the Christian community; and we have been wont, in all our movements, to take counsel from the constituted guardians of morality and religion. We have acted as their agents. We have repeatedly gone before the assembled ministers and messengers of the churches, and received their full and warm-hearted commendations. The cause is their own; and we have asked them to promote it in whatever way they chose. We have acted, not against them, but only with them. We have sent our agents into no pulpit, we have scattered our publications in no parish, against the wishes of their pastor. We do regard ministers and churches as sadly deficient on this subject, and frankly tell them so; but we



still repose full confidence in the general rectitude of their intentions, and throw ourselves and our cause before them to be treated as they please. Nor have they put our confidence to shame, but received us, with few exceptions from any quarter, in all cordiality and kindness.

GENERAL REVIEW.—The experience of the year just closed furnishes no occasion to regret the Society's removal to Boston. It is, for many reasons, the best spot for the purpose in the whole land; and we have found ourselves more at home here, and surrounded with a larger number of able and devoted friends, than we could expect at any other place. The pecuniary embarrassments of the country have clogged more or less the machinery of every benevolent enterprise; but our cause, though more liable to suffer than any other, has still pursued its silent way to greater and better results than it had reached in any former year. Public attention has been drawn to the subject more extensively and more effectually; more lectures have been delivered by our agents; more money has been contributed by our friends; more sermons have probably been preached in behalf of the cause by ministers of the gospel; more has been published in the periodicals of the day; and a larger number of books, pamphlets and tracts have been put in circulation.

The liberality of our friends, though much below the exigences of the cause, has exceeded our highest expectations. Our income the last year was nearly twice as great as that of any preceding year; and this year, though most of our contributors were already pledged to other enterprises which they considered as having prior and paramount claims upon them for more than they could give in such a season of panic and bankruptcy, still we have received \$3,635 78,—more than even the last year by \$911 27, and more than the aggregate of all that was contributed during the first seven years of the Society's operations.

Such a degree of liberality, under all the circumstances of the case, is a most cheering omen, and calls for devout gratitude to the God of peace who has inclined so many to render such timely aid. We observe, with special pleasure, the receipt of \$250 as a bequest from the late Hon. BENJAMIN TALLMADGE, of Litchfield, Conn., and an appropriation by that well-known philanthropist, the devoted friend of every good cause, GERRIT SMITH, Esq., of \$500 from his father's estate, the late PETER SMITH, Esq., of Schenectady, N. Y. We might mention the names of others who have contributed with a liberality uncommon for this cause; and we rejoice to witness the growing disposition of the community at large in

New England, to recognise, in practice as well as theory, its claims to their pecuniary support. Let such a disposition once pervade the land; and we should soon receive all the funds requisite for the successful prosecution of our work. The want of money has ever been our chief hindrance; but we trust our friends will not long withhold the means indispensable to success in such an enterprise.

We are particularly gratified to receive aid in the way of life-memberships. The example is salutary; its influence on all concerned is benign; it gives the person, as a permanent member, opportunities and inducements which he would not otherwise have, for promoting the cause; and, where he is made a member by a religious society, it presents them before the community as active friends of peace. We were glad, therefore, to find no less than fifty-seven persons, chiefly ministers of the gospel, constituted life-members of our Society; a number greater than all the life-memberships during the first eight years of its existence. The number of such members is now one hundred and sixty-nine.

AGENCIES.—We have had most of the time three agents in the field, more than ever before; and they have performed more labor, and met with more success than in any preceding year. They have together travelled in our service seven thousand eight hundred and twenty miles, and delivered four hundred and fifty-three lectures, besides a variety of other labors for the cause. They have generally been welcomed with cordiality; and they all speak, in strong and grateful terms, of the assistance which ministers of almost every name have rendered them in gaining access to the people. The public mind is ripe for the subject; the way is well prepared in the providence of God for effort; and nothing is needed but his promised blessing on proper and adequate means.

Our President, in the capacity of General Agent, has labored more abundantly and more successfully in our service than during any former year, having travelled two thousand seven hundred and seventy miles, and delivered one hundred and forty-three lectures and addresses. His time and travelling expenses have been, as usual, given to the Society. He has found an unprecedented avidity among the people to hear and read on the subject of peace, and more demands for his services than he could meet.—Rev. JOHN LORD has labored for us, with acceptance and success, thirty-four weeks, travelled thirteen hundred and fifty miles, and delivered one hundred and forty-three lectures, an average of more than four every week. He has first presented *the great principles* of our cause, and found the community more interested in

them than he had expected. The subject of a *congress of nations* he has found particularly interesting to persons of intelligence; and for the success of this part of our enterprise, he entertains very strong hopes from the indications of public sentiment which he has witnessed. "It is a *fact*," he adds, "that our cause is on a rapid advance; and our object *may* be accomplished sooner than any of us dream of. We need only *union*, and *perseverance*, and *faith*, to render the subject of peace a prominent object of discussion and thought throughout our land, and the Christian world. There can be no mistake as to the triumph of our principles, *if we do our duty*."—The duties devolved on the Corresponding Secretary, will show the need of more laborers in this cause; for he has been expected to superintend the periodical and other publications of the Society, to conduct its correspondence, and deliver lectures every week. To these and other labors for the cause, he has devoted all his time and strength, having travelled in our service about three thousand seven hundred miles, and delivered one hundred and seventy lectures and addresses, an average of about one every other day through the year.

Several pastors in different sections of New England, have kindly consented to act as local agents; and, though we cannot report the exact amount of their labors for the cause, we have heard enough to feel special obligation for their services. We ought to add the spontaneous coöperation of more than a thousand ministers pledged to preach on the subject of peace at least once a year; a kind of service which might, if our funds would allow, be very cheaply and very usefully secured to an indefinite extent. We cannot refrain from the hope and belief, that our friends will ere-long furnish us with the means of sending our periodical without charge to every minister in the land who desires its aid in bringing this great evangelical cause before his people. Our first reliance is on the living voice; and we may well be encouraged by the fact, that probably not less than fifteen hundred discourses have, through the influence of our Society, been delivered on this subject in our country, if not in New England alone, during the past year.

PUBLICATIONS.—Our means have not been sufficient to meet the growing demand for peace publications. We have purchased the stereotype plates of one small volume, *Howard and Napoleon*, and stereotyped four tracts, and the admirable little work of *Hancock on Peace*; a larger number of publications than the Society had ever stereotyped before. We have not issued quite so many tracts this year as we did the

last; but, by purchase from the London Peace Society, and other sources, we have put in circulation a greater amount of publications than during any previous year. We have published more than twenty thousand volumes and tracts. We know not the exact number issued and circulated; but the amount probably exceeds one million and a half of duodecimo pages, and equals about two hundred thousand tracts of the ordinary size. Articles on the subject of peace have during the year been published, through the Society's influence, in more than twenty newspapers, chiefly religious; and, as most of these have a wide circulation, some twelve, one fifteen, and another even more than twenty thousand, we have, in this way alone, addressed probably more than two hundred and fifty thousand minds, and got before them an amount of matter equal to two hundred and fifty thousand tracts of the common size, or two millions of duodecimo pages. The sum total of publications on this subject, brought by the blessing of God on our efforts, before the community during this year, is equal to nearly half a million of common-sized tracts, or three million five hundred thousand pages.

*Peace Lectures in Boston.*—We ought to mention, with special emphasis, the course of able and eloquent lectures delivered in this city on the subject of peace, during the last winter, under the direction of our Executive Committee. The names of the distinguished speakers are a sufficient guaranty for the excellence of their respective performances,—REV. HENRY WARE, JR., D. D., REV. RUFUS P. STEBBENS, REV. WILLIAM E. CHANNING, D. D., REV. SAMUEL J. MAY, AMASA WALKER, ESQ., WILLIAM LADD, ESQ., and REV. R. W. EMERSON. The performances were generally well attended, and occasionally by large and deeply interested audiences. The lectures would have made a very valuable addition to the literature of peace, and the committee were desirous to publish them without delay; but the funds of the Society would not allow them to incur the expense, and the pressure of the times discouraged all attempts to do it in any other way.

*AUXILIARIES.*—We have not been anxious to organize new societies; yet there have been formed during the year several important auxiliaries—in Vermont a State auxiliary; an auxiliary in the city of Lowell, and another in New Bedford, each starting with about one hundred members. Others have been organized; but our limits will not allow us to specify any more.

Concerning auxiliaries previously formed, we are unable to give a full report; for most of them, we are sorry to state, have failed to send us any account of their doings. From

the Connecticut Peace Society, once flourishing under the labors of the late devoted Watson, we have heard nothing at all. The Massachusetts Peace Society, the oldest in the land, still retains its organization, and will, we hope, become more efficient than ever in behalf of a cause which it has heretofore done so much to promote. The Rhode Island Peace Society has been revived; and, having procured a renewal and modification of its charter, and received a legacy of about \$1,000 from the late Obadiah and Moses Browa, it now promises increased activity and usefulness. Soon after our last anniversary in New York, a Peace Society was organized in that city, with special reference to a congress of nations. It employed for a time an enterprising agent, held a series of interesting public discussions, and had addresses from several distinguished gentlemen, particularly the Jewish missionary, Wolff, and the Hon. Joseph Buckingham, the well-known oriental traveller, and popular lecturer. From our female auxiliaries we have no formal report, but know that many of them have been laboring for the cause with their wonted zeal.

CONGRESS OF NATIONS.—Some of our friends, the New York Society in the van, have at length turned public attention in earnest to the subject of a tribunal for the settlement of international disputes. Our General Agent, besides obtaining in a short time the names of nearly a thousand respectable petitioners for a congress of nations, brought the subject last winter before the Legislature of Maine with a result quite as encouraging as the most sanguine could have expected. The same subject has again been brought, through the instrumentality of our indefatigable coworker, Thomas Thompson, Jr., of this city, before the Legislature of Massachusetts; resolves highly satisfactory to the friends of peace were passed in favor of a congress of nations by a unanimous vote in the House of Representatives, and with only two dissenting voices in the Senate, and the Governor was instructed to lay them before Congress, and the Legislature of each State in the Union. A petition, drawn up with much ability, and signed in some cases by large numbers, was sent from the city of New York, from Vermont, and other places, praying Congress to accept the proposal of Mexico for a reference of difficulties between the two republics, and also to take measures for bringing the subject of a congress of nations before the civilized world. Some of these petitions were printed by order of Congress, and the Ex-President, J. Q. Adams, and Henry Clay, one of the prominent candidates for the next presidency, spoke decidedly in favor of their object;

but no decisive action was had on the main point, though the movement has led to the acceptance of the overture from Mexico.

This department we have always regarded with much favor, and been constantly endeavoring to prepare the public mind for a successful effort on the subject. The way seems now to be open in some degree; and we design the coming year to bring this part of our measures more fully before the public, and shall hope to secure such a number of petitioners as will constrain our state and national legislators to give the subject a thorough investigation. It may take as much time as it did to get from the British Parliament a proscription of the slave-trade; but, trusting in the magnitude of our object, and the goodness of our cause, we cannot despair of ultimate success.

It is well known, that a premium, first of \$30, then of \$100, next of \$500, and finally of \$1000, was offered, through the columns of our periodical, not by the Society, but by individuals on their own responsibility, for the best essay on a congress of nations. All efforts to procure an award of the prize among the numerous competitors, in accordance with its terms, proved ineffectual, and the offer was at length withdrawn; but your Executive Committee, appreciating the great importance of the subject, and thinking it desirable that some of those essays should be published, have authorized your General Agent, as the person best qualified for the task, to select and publish five of them, provided it can be done without involving the Society in any pecuniary responsibility. Mr. Ladd has begun the business in earnest, and has thus far met with an unexpected degree of success, having already procured subscriptions for the work to the amount of more than \$600.

FOREIGN EFFORTS.—From our fellow-laborers in Europe, we continue to receive encouraging reports. The London Peace Society, though suffering still from the loss of their leading member, John Bevens, appears to have held on its course with little if any diminution of its former vigor and success. Its last anniversary is said to have been the most interesting it has had for a series of years; and communications more recent give favorable accounts of its progress in that great moral nursery of the civilized world.—Count de Sellon, our illustrious coadjutor in Switzerland, the mainspring of peace operations in that country, seems to be still as enterprising as ever in the prosecution of this mighty work. From France we have no report; but we have good reasons, though no room to state them, for believing that pacific views and

feelings are silently, yet surely pervading every nation in Christendom. The heralds of the cross are carrying them among the heathen; and we felt peculiar pleasure in receiving from missionaries in Ceylon an application for our tracts. Every missionary station in the world ought to be abundantly furnished with publications on peace.

The past year has been marked with more than the usual variety of events both sad and cheering. Death has made few inroads upon our friends; but the great pioneer of our cause, the modern apostle of peace, has gone to his reward, laden with the blessings of all that knew what he was, and what he had done in the incipient work of a world's pacification. NOAH WORCESTER, D. D., to whom our cause was more indebted than to any other man in modern times, died, last October, in the eightieth year of his age.

Other events, both foreign and domestic, might well claim, would time permit, our special notice. The general peace of Christendom, with only here and there a temporary outburst or effervescence of the war-spirit;—Spain involved still in all the horrors of a civil war, that has already destroyed nearly, perhaps quite half a million of her sons and daughters;—the war in South America embracing four republics, and giving additional proof, that liberty obtained by violence, is pretty sure in the end to become a curse to its possessors;—the continuance of our own base, shameful hostilities with the Indians in Florida;—our violation of justice, good faith, and even decency in our treatment of the Cherokees, and other tribes;—the short-lived rebellion in the Canadas, and our own disgraceful connection with its origin and progress;—our relations with Mexico and Texas;—the horrid tragedy at Alton;—the cold-blooded murder at Washington by men still permitted to disgrace the nation by retaining their seats in its council chamber;—all these, and some other topics, deserve a minute review, but cannot receive even a passing notice.

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#### ADDRESSES.

##### MR. WINSLOW'S ADDRESS.

*Resolved*, That we regard the cause of peace as strictly and preëminently evangelical in its spirit, its principles, and its main objects.

It was predicted of Messiah's kingdom, as one of its most distinguishing excellences, that it should be a reign of *peace*. "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Speaking of its spiritual conquests, as opposed to those made by the noise and tumult of war, the prophet says, "He shall come down like rain upon the mown grass, as showers that water the earth;—in his days shall the righteous flourish, and *abundance of peace*, so long as the moon endureth."

The cause of peace is evangelical in its *spirit*; that is, it breathes the same spirit with the gospel. The spirit of the Christian religion is a spirit of peace. So sang the angels, "*Peace on earth, good-will to man.*" True, the Christian religion has to make its way in the world against wicked opposition, and thus it often becomes the occasion of violent hostilities; but here the fault lies not in the spirit of the gospel, but of those who oppose it. Christianity does not seek to make peace at the expense of righteousness,—it does not unite sin and holiness in friendship,—it is not a freezing together of heterogeneous materials in a mass of ice. It is a melting together of pure spirits in the fires of true love. The reign of pure peace is coextensive with that of pure righteousness; and hence, when all hearts shall come under the reign of Christ, the animating prophecy respecting Messiah's kingdom of "*righteousness and peace*" will be fulfilled.

The spirit of war is in direct and irreconcilable hostility to that of Christianity. It demolishes what Christ builds up, and builds up what Christ demolishes. The spirit in which it riots, and which it engenders, are lust of power and conquest, revenge, cruelty, blood-thirstiness, contempt of the still small voice of conscience, and a reckless disregard of all laws but brute force. Wo to the peaceful and benign religion of Jesus, when the demon, War, rides through the land on his red horse! Almost all minds are then turned away from religion, and the work of saving is supplanted by the work of destroying. It is unknown in history, that the religion of Jesus has prospered in any community, when that community was involved in war. Here and there an individual of extraordinary character has at such times surmounted the obstacles, and towered eminently in moral virtue, on the principle stated by Burke, that "it seems to be in the order of the general economy of the world, that when the greatest and most detestable vices domineer, the most eminent and distinguished virtues rear their heads more proudly, because it is then no time for mediocrity;"—but the great body of the people are then driven down the torrent to destruction. Eternity is forgotten. The noise and tumult of war drown the voice of conscience, and the voice of God. The spirit of war and the spirit of Christ can never meet and thrive together in the bosom of the same nation.

The cause of peace is evangelical in its *principles*; that is, it is so as I understand them. I do not understand the principles recognised by this Society to deny the right of civil government to enforce obedience, or of parents to sustain their authority over their children, or of individuals or nations to protect themselves from harm. This would be antichristian, disorganizing and seditious. The Peace Society, however, does maintain, not only that all aggressive wars are unchristian, but that all disputes between nations should be settled without resort to violence. Few conquerors who have gone forth with their armies to thresh the nations, and desolate the world, have had the hardihood to do it unshielded with an apology that they were seeking redress for actual or intended insults. Even those greatest of human slaughterers, Alexander, Genghiz-khan, Cæsar and Napoleon, who made their foreheads brass, and their sinews iron in their work of desolation, acted, as far as they could, under the pretext of seeking redress for their own, or their fathers', or their countries' present or preceding wrongs. When two men are involved in contention, they are not the proper arbitrators and asserters of each other's rights. Civil governments provide for this, and require such to commit their cause to the decision of a court and jury. For a similar reason, when two nations are at variance, the contending parties are not the proper judges and exactors of each other's rights. Hence the importance of national arbitration, congress of nations, or some means of taking the cause from the hands of belligerents, and thus restoring peace without resort to arms.

I understand it to be a cardinal principle of the Peace Society, that *might*



never makes *right*, and that all brute retaliation and violence should cease from the human race. It is maintained, that there are other and better means of settling disputes between civilized nations, than a resort to force. An appeal to the "God of arms," has in it more of the heathen than of the Christian. Victory may be declared on the side of military strength and skill, when justice is on the other side. The appeal should be made to justice, to be determined by some other tribunal than the contending parties. National wars are matters of forethought, deliberation, and are often declared months before hostilities actually commence. The friends of peace would settle the claims of the contending parties, and avert war. They would do this by exposing the antichristian character and the horrors of war, and the practicability of banishing it from civilized nations by moral means. They would induce aggrieved parties to resort to other means than arms for redress; or when this cannot be done, they would institute a congress of nations, or tantamount authority, to interpose and settle the contention; as we are sometimes under the necessity of separating angry children, or intoxicated men, when they are determined that they *will fight*.

The cause of peace is evangelical in its *objects*. Some of the objects which it contemplates are among the most prominent contemplated by the Christian religion. These are the prevention of a waste of human life, a waste of property, a waste of morals, and the promotion of justice and the ends of piety. War is a prodigious devourer of *human beings*. It is to the human race what the great sharks and whales are to the finny tribes, living by the daily sacrifice of its thousands of victims. Mr. Burke computes, that war has swept from the stage of life more than thirty-five thousand millions of human beings by violent and premature deaths! War is an enormous consumer of *wealth*. The amount expended in our last war with Great Britain, would be more than sufficient to send missionaries, and Bibles, and printing establishments, and books, and teachers, and all the necessary means for enlightening the world, into every kingdom and province on the face of the earth. War is eminently ruinous to the *morals* of a nation. Domestic industry and economy, which are the life of a nation's morals, cannot long subsist under the baleful influence of war. It separates husbands and wives, parents and children; breaks up the natural order of society; destroys domestic happiness; sets up a wrong standard of character; enfeebles motives to virtuous enterprise, by casting uncertainty over success; and sunders the strongest bonds which hold society together. Not one in a hundred of soldiers return from the camp to the bosom of their families, but to render them miserable by their acquired vices. The same vices which reign in the high places of iniquity find their way ultimately to the most retired villages; the whole nation becomes as if a vast sea of moral pollution had rolled over it. War involves the innocent with the guilty. Often does it wreak its most terrible vengeance upon the heads of those who have no part in provoking it. This the guilty instigators of war calculate upon. The blood-thirsty warrior does not expect to die himself, but he expects thousands to die for him. The ambition of an emperor, or a king, or a conqueror and a few of his satellites, is indulged at the expense of the sufferings of millions of men, women and children, guilty of nothing but an existence within the reach of their cruel power. A time of war is emphatically one when "judgment is far from us; neither doth justice overtake us; judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off, for truth is fallen in the streets, and equity cannot enter."

But the most appalling feature of war is, that it hurries such multitudes of unprepared souls, by a momentary death, into eternity. The life of a soldier is of all others the most unpropitious for anticipating the future world; while frequently, in a few hours by battle, or in a few days by pestilence in the camp, thousands are launched into eternity in the most unprepared state conceivable.

To the believer in a future state of retribution, it is indeed a most appalling consideration, that so many millions of our race have been hurried by war from the very scene and act of slaughter to the bar of that God who has said, "Thou shalt not kill!" Who, then, can doubt, that to prevent war, and to hasten the time when nations shall beat their swords into ploughshares, is to promote the same great objects contemplated by the gospel of Christ.

But it is said, that nothing can be done. Those who assert this, mistake the power of truth. Let it be made to appear that an appeal to force in settling a controversy, is unchristian, and let that single sentiment be diffused throughout all Christian lands, and the work is more than half done. Governments are becoming more and more popular; power is descending from monarchs and royal cabinets to the people. It is for the *people* to say, whether they will or will not be involved in the horrors and the desolations of war. Let the *people* be convinced that it is unnecessary, unchristian, wicked, ruinous to the interests of both worlds; and in vain will monarchs and magistrates seek to make war. What but the wisdom of our Senate saved us from being at this moment involved in a sanguinary conflict with France? And what directed and sustained our senators but the known will of their constituents?

The cause of peace has already accomplished much. It will accomplish great things, for it is of the gospel. Despise not the day of small things. There was a time when all the elements of that gospel, which is now moving and regenerating the world, lay slumbering in a dozen bosoms. The sentiment that falls from some trembling heart, finds another heart to respond to it, and that heart conveys it to another, and thus the sacred impulse spreads from heart to heart, from people to people, till states and nations are moved by it. Let the principles of peace be correctly set forth; let them be promulgated in the spirit of fidelity, and love, and good-will to all men; and as sure as God reigns and the gospel is true, *they will prevail over the world*. The tree of peace will be planted firmly in the earth, it will send up its branches over all the continents and islands of the globe, all kindreds and tribes shall repose beneath it, and its leaves shall be for the healing of the nations.

#### MR. MORTON'S REMARKS.

MR. PRESIDENT,—I had no expectation of speaking in this meeting; but, having but a moment since been requested to second the resolution just offered,\* I do it cordially, and feel thankful for the opportunity thus afforded of bearing testimony in favor of the cause of peace. Truly, government must be supported, family government and national government; and I would be the last man to weaken the rightful authority and influence of the one or the other. But, Sir, the experience of acting on the principles of peace towards our fellow-men, and then trusting in God for protection in a season of danger, has not been sufficiently tried. While sitting here, and listening to the interesting remarks which have been made, a passage in ancient history has occurred to my mind. On a certain occasion, Samuel, the prophet and judge of Israel, called the people together for the worship of God. Israel had wandered far away into the paths of disobedience and idolatry; and the prophet earnestly desired and labored to bring them back to their duty. But their enemies were watchful; and while engaged in the solemn service of religion, the Philistines came upon them. And what could they do? Israel was unarmed, and Samuel was no soldier. He could not fight; but he could pray. So he offered a sacrifice, and lifted up his cry to heaven. The prophet trusted in God for deliverance without the weapons of war, and so did the people. They said to Samuel, "cease

\* REV. WARREN FAY, D. D., was expected to second it, but was obliged to leave the house before the close of Mr. W.'s remarks.

not to cry unto the Lord our God for us." They believed that the prayers of the prophet would prevail; and they were not disappointed. Here, Sir, is an example of a people peacefully assembled, but unexpectedly attacked, trusting in God for deliverance. And was it a vain confidence? No; God was their helper; he saved them,—not by their sword nor their bow. Samuel was a man of peace; and surely Israel never had a better judge.

Now, Mr. President, let us apply the subject of trusting in God for protection in times of peril, to individuals. Might not a man of peace, a minister of the gospel, a missionary in foreign lands, unarmed, go to and fro in the earth with safety; and with far more safety, than if it were known that he carried in his hand the weapons of death? But what if these perils be unavoidable? Then let him follow in the footsteps of our divine Redeemer, and, if he must die by violence, enjoy the honors of martyrdom. He would thus make an impression upon this dark world, which its malice and power could not efface. A Moravian missionary, in the desolate regions of the north, laboring for the salvation of the Esquimaux, was attacked by a savage. The Indian pointed a loaded gun at his bosom, and was ready to lay him a corpse at his feet. The missionary, with the gentleness of a lamb, and with the moral courage and faith of a Christian, looked the Indian full in the face, and said, "you cannot shoot me, unless Jesus Christ permit you." The countenance of the savage fell, his gun fell, and he turned and went away. Now who can tell to what extent the God of peace would interpose to protect the sons of peace who trusted in him? I hope, Sir, the resolution just read will be adopted, and that the great and pure principles of peace and good-will to men, will soon be universally triumphant in this wicked world.

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#### WAR AND WOMEN:

##### *Or the Maid of Ciudad Rodrigo.*

WAR has a fearful ubiquity of mischief. The soldier is not its sole victim, nor the field of battle the only scene of its woes; but it sweeps like a moral simoom over the peaceful families of every place which it visits, and leaves not a few of them in sorrow and utter desolation.

"Passing through a narrow street of Ciudad Rodrigo," says Kennedy in his *Recollections of the War in Spain*, "I heard the shriek of a female. Looking up, we saw at an open lattice, by the light of the lamp she bore, a girl about sixteen, her hair and dress disordered, her expressive olive countenance marked by anguish and extreme terror. A savage in scarlet uniform dragged her backward, accompanying the act with the vilest execrations in English. We entered the court-yard, where the hand of rapine had spared us the necessity of forcing a passage. My companions were brave, conscientious men, with the resoluteness that, in military life, almost invariably accompanies these qualifications. Armed for whatever might ensue, they kept steadily by me until we arrived at a sort of corridor, some distance from the extremity of which issued the tones of the same feminine voice, imploring mercy, in the Spanish tongue. Springing